DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 086 890 CE 000 928

AUTHOR	Carlson, Robert A.
TITLE	Educational Television in Its Cultural and Public Affairs Dimension: A Selected Literature Review of Public Television as an Issue in Adult Education. Occasional Papers Number 39.
INSTITUTION	Syracuse Univ., N.Y. ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult Education.; Syracuse Univ., N.Y. Publications Program in Continuing Education.
REPORT NO	Occas-Pap-39
PUB DATE	Dec 73
NOTE	50p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Publications in Continuing Education, Syracuse University, 224 Huntington Hall, Syracuse, New York 13210 ($2.00)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS	*Adult Education; *Annotated Bibliographies; Audiovisual Aids; Cultural Factors; *Educational Television; *Literature Reviews; Public Affairs Education; Public Television

ABSTRACT

The selected literature review in this booklet reflects the continuing controversy in the field of adult education over the place that should be accorded by adult educators to noncommercial cultural-informational television (Public Television or PTV). The writer contends that educators' views and definitions of the field of adult education are crucial to the position they support in the PTV controversy. This study views some of the notions in adult education which discourage acceptance of PTV as a unique broadcast form of education and analyzes the concerns arising from these notions; based on this analysis, "the review will argue that if the values of adult education, writ small, were to achieve dominance in Public Television, independent-minded Americans would be much the worse off for such 'progress'." More than half of the booklet is devoted to an annotated bibliography, which is divided into two parts: The Conflicting Hopes and The Reality. (EA)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

OCCASIONAL PAPERS • NUMBER 39

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ED 017990

EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION IN ITS CULTURAL AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS DIMENSION: A SELECTED LITERATURE REVIEW OF PUBLIC TELEVISION AS AN ISSUE IN ADULT EDUCATION

BY: ROBERT A. CARLSON

Syracuse University
PUBLICATIONS IN CONTINUING EDUCATION
AND
ERIC CLEARINGHOUSE ON ADULT EDUCATION

CE 000 928

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

A Publication in Continuing Education
Syracuse University

Melvin A. Eggers, Chancellor
John James Prucha, Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs
Alexander N. Charters, Area Chairman Adult Education
Robert J. Blakely, Associate Professor (Adj.), Adult Education
Doris S. Chertow, Editor, Publications in Continuing Education

ERIC CLEARINGHOUSE ON ADULT EDUCATION
107 RONEY LANE, SYRACUSE, NEW YORK 13210

SPONSORED BY SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY AND THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER OF THE U. S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION

Stanley M. Grabowski, Director

This publication was prepared pursuant to a contract with the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their judgment in professional and technical matters. Points of view or opinions do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

ED 086890

EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION IN ITS CULTURAL AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS DIMENSION: A SELECTED LITERATURE REVIEW OF PUBLIC TELEVISION AS AN ISSUE IN ADULT EDUCATION

by

Robert A. Carlson

Associate Professor of Continuing Education
University of Saskatchewan

December, 1973

Syracuse University

PUBLICATIONS IN CONTINUING EDUCATION
and
ERIC CLEARINGHOUSE ON ADULT EDUCATION

OCCASIONAL PAPERS

A special series devoted to documents which, though prepared in a specific context and for a limited audience, are judged to be of such general interest that they merit wider distribution than that for which they were originally intended. They are presented in the hope that they will contribute to the more general sharing of information and opinion about questions of importance in the field of adult education.

This Occasional Paper may be secured for $2.00 per copy by writing to:

Publications in Continuing Education
Syracuse University
224 Huntington Hall
Syracuse, N. Y. 13210

For information about standing orders, please write to the above address.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGUE CARD: 73-13294

ISBN NUMBER: 0-87060-063-X

Syracuse University
PUBLICATIONS IN CONTINUING EDUCATION
and
ERIC CLEARINGHOUSE ON ADULT EDUCATION

FOREWORD

Instructional television in adult education is a relatively recent development about which there has been considerable debate but little literature.

Dr. Robert Carlson, professionally trained as both an adult educator and historian, has attempted to bring some insights and perspective to this issue in the present monograph. He has written it in his unique subjective-historical style, which often is more subjective than historical.

There will be, undoubtedly, much discussion about this monograph as was already evidenced by some individuals who were asked to critically review it prior to publication. The ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult Education recognizing the nature of the contents of this review presents it in the belief that public discussion by scholars advances knowledge.

We are grateful to Bob Carlson for sharing his efforts with the field, and to Ms. Doris Chertow and the Syracuse University Publications in Continuing Education for making this publication available to a wider audience.

Stanley M. Grabowski
Director
ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult Education

August 1, 1973

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
FOREWORD	iii
PREFACE	1
THE REVIEW	2
A Breakdown Occurring in PTV	2
A-V Aid vs. Unique Method	3
Ideologically-Oriented Suggestions for Improvement	4
The Argument for Viewing TV as an A-V Device Analyzed	4
PTV and Passivity for the Masses?	6
A Closed-Minded View of Interaction Questioned	6
Eugene Johnson and the Verner-Knowles Philosophy	7
The Henry Alter Position	7
Attack on the Narrow View	8
A Unique Mission for PTV	9
The Fading Vision of a Unique Mission	10
Enemies of the Broad View Gaining	11
PTV as the "People's Instrument"	12
From Journalism and Performance to Behavior Change	12
Failure Devoutly to Be Wished	13
The Role of the Adult Education Profession in PTV	13
THE LITERATURE	15
Part I: The Conflicting Hopes	15
Part II: The Reality	33

PREFACE

"...Television's relative failure as a primary instrument of learning," adult education professor Malcolm Knowles of Boston University wrote in 1966, "...[may be] because educational television has looked to the entertainment industry for its rationale, guiding principles, and techniques, rather than to adult education" (32:342). Another adult educator, Henry Alter, took a different point of view: "Noncommercial television.... is becoming a...force today....[by breaking] the stereotype that ...what...[is] entertaining...[can] not be educational. All anyone has to do to disprove that fallacy is to look at today's television programming...." (2:4).

These diametrically opposed positions adopted by two respected adult education practitioners and theoreticians reflect the continuing controversy in the field over the place that should be accorded by adult educators to noncommercial cultural-informational television (otherwise known as Public Television or PTV). Knowles would go as far as to withhold the designation of adult education from most TV cultural and informational programs. A few theoreticians, such as adult education professor Coolie Verner of the University of British Columbia, would go even farther. Verner has banished from the field of adult education virtually all television programming, including most instructional or didactic (ITV) programming for adults (Coolie Verner, "Definition of Terms," in Gale Jensen, et.al., ed., Adult Education, Washington, D.C.: Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., 1964, p. 32). His position, however, is relatively extreme within the field. Even the narrowly-based Johnstone study accepted ITV as fitting its definition of adult education (John W.C. Johnstone and Ramon J. Rivera, Volunteers for Learning, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1965). Cultural-informational television has been of more concern to theoreticians of the profession than didactic TV because PTV's adult education programming has tended to be, in the widest sense of the word, "entertaining."

THE REVIEW

Public Television has inclined to a much greater extent than Instructional TV to emphasize its natural role as a broadcasting medium. Journalistic and performance values have tended to predominate in PTV over the didacticism of traditional schooling or the discussion approach of traditional adult education. Given these deviations of the medium from the "educational" norms, theoreticians like Verner and Knowles have tended to reject PTV as a meaningful part of the adult education movement in the United States.

This literature review will explore the controversy in adult education regarding the place of PTV in this field. It will contend that the view a person takes of the field of adult education, his definition, is crucial to the position he takes in this controversy. It will argue the thesis that definitions of adult education writ small have prevented the field from embracing PTV as one of the truly outstanding dimensions of adult education in U.S. society in the past five to ten years, from about 1962 until the early 1970s.

This study will also look at some of the notions in adult education which discourage acceptance of PTV as a unique broadcast form of education. Concerns arising from these notions will be analyzed. Based on this analysis, the review will argue that if the values of adult education, writ small, were to achieve dominance in Public Television, independent-minded Americans would be much the worse off for such "progress."

A Breakdown Occurring in PTV

Blinded by preciously narrow vogue definitions, the professional field of adult education in 1973 appeared unconcerned over the fact that PTV in its broadcast form was in the process of being strangled by inimical forces (12, 56, 62, 83, and 87). At least some in the field may even have been hoping that a reduction or demise of PTV's public affairs programming, in particular, would result in increased opportunity to use the channels for adult education of a variety with more currency in the profession at the moment (15). Because of the popularity of narrow definitions, some adult educators may indeed have sensed that a breakthrough for the field was about to occur in educational television at the very time that the reality was, on the contrary, a breakdown.

In providing a review of literature regarding the cultural-informational or PTV dimension of educational television, this study will emphasize writings within the mainstream of the adult education profession but will not limit itself to that area alone. Indeed, relatively few professional adult educators have dealt in any depth with cultural-informational television in their writing. Henry Alter, Robert Blakely, Robert Carlson,

and Eugene Johnson are the major writers on this topic in the field. Others like John Niemi and John Ohliger (44) have expressed interest but have not explored PTV to any extent in their writings. Still others, like Malcolm Knowles and Coolie Verner, have manufactured theoretical arguments rejecting PTV--arguments based both upon the field's current ideological biases and upon its relative lack of understanding of the TV medium.

The adult education profession over the years has generally tended to ignore PTV (57 and 58), which seemed all too prone to ignore the profession and the theories, values, and commitments in vogue in the field. There is no doubt but what public broadcasters, for their part, have been hesitant to plug into the existing adult education establishment and its ongoing programs. Their hesitancy, it will be shown, has much to do with the broadcasting or journalistic nature of the PTV medium and with demands inconsistent with that nature made upon them by many adult educators.

For this review to provide perspective on the cultural-informational dimension of educational television in the absence of much discussion in the field it has been necessary to go beyond the mainstream adult education profession. The study includes a selection of thinking from the PTV industry or institution itself, from the field of schooling, from government, and from philanthropy. This thinking, like that in adult education, has been divided.

A-V Aid vs. Unique Method

The literature of adult education, as it relates to PTV, clearly indicates basic disagreement based on definition. If the writer defines adult education narrowly, he is likely to view television as an audio-visual technique for disseminating existing adult education programming. He judges PTV on criteria presently in vogue in the profession. If he takes a broader view of the field, on the other hand, he is likely to consider television a unique adult education method of its own, requiring approaches different from those in use elsewhere in the profession. He is less prone to question PTV for seeking to conduct adult education according to broadcasting values. The crucial philosophical issue, then, is the relative broadness of one's definition of the field operationalized in a view of the television medium as an audio-visual technique or as a unique method of adult education.

This way of analyzing the situation is an application of the model of adult education processes developed by Professor Coolie Verner of the University of British Columbia in his 1962 publication, A Conceptual Scheme for the Identification and Classification of Processes for Adult Education (Washington, D.C.: Adult Education Association of the U.S.A.). It will be utilized in this review to question the arguments of those theoreticians, paradoxically including Verner himself, who reject television as a viable instrument of adult education.

If the adult educator defines the field broadly and decides to recognize PTV as a unique method, he can ignore as ideological claptrap the attacks on it by Verner and others for failing to provide person-to-person interaction and an evaluation process that measures change in viewer behavior (11, 27, and 32). Verner and most of the other adult education theoreticians critical of PTV have become locked into a narrow framework by their unwillingness to accept PTV as an adult education method with unique approaches. They decry its broadcasting and journalistic values. In their commitment to their narrow definition of the field, they demand that PTV submit to such current adult education values as interaction and quantitative evaluation. They can accept PTV only as an audio-visual technique or device to be used in concert with some other overall method of adult education that allows for their brand of interaction and evaluation.

Ideologically-Oriented Suggestions for Improvement

Ideologically bound, Verner and his colleagues seek to "improve" Public Television programming. They recommend incorporating telephone call-ins and special devices for connecting home sets and viewers with the transmitting stations. Such suggestions, while relevant for a few PTV and ITV programs, assume that all televised adult education must involve two-way communication and a means for evaluating changes in viewer knowledge or attitude. PTV does not naturally lend itself to such an ideology.

Malcolm Knowles is a leading professional adult educator who shares Verner's view of television as an audio-visual device for distributing existing patterns of adult education. Knowles believes that PTV cannot involve the learner and his experience in the learning process and cannot allow him to interact with teachers and other learners. Since these notions underlie Knowles's definition of adult education, he is unwilling to accept most PTV programming as adult education. Knowles is thus forced to conclude that PTV and other mass media likely "cannot serve as effective primary instruments of adult learning" (32: 343). Adult education, in Knowles's mind as in Verner's, requires a mix of devices that will enable direct and measurable viewer involvement and interaction.

The Argument for Viewing TV as an A-V Device Analyzed

Knowles is about as dogmatic as Verner in rejecting PTV as an instrument of adult education. He attacks the medium for casting aside his view of the crucial values in adult education in favor of broadcasting values or, as he puts it, entertainment values. He compares, quite unfavorably, the approaches of broadcasting with those of adult education:

> Entertainment has as its goal satisfaction and pleasure in the present moment; adult education's goal is dissatisfaction and change. Entertainme..

puts its participants in a comfortable, relatively passive role; adult education puts its participants into the highly active role of engaging in a process of self-inquiry. Entertainment treats its clientele as a more or less uniform audience with common needs, interests, tastes, and purposes; adult education sees its clientele as a collection of individuals, each with his unique needs, interests, tastes, and purposes, and assumes that these individual differences will cause differences in what is learned. Entertainment establishes a relationship of one-way flow of communication from transmitter to receiver; adult education relies heavily on dynamic interaction among the learners and between learners and teachers. Entertainment assumes that the transmitters are in the best position to know what is good for the receivers; adult education assumes that learners will in the last analysis learn best what they choose to learn... (32:342 and 343).

It is apparent that Knowles shares the Verner ideology. They reject PTV for being what they consider a one-way medium. Knowles then seeks to stigmatize PTV by comparing it unfavorably with his own idealized version of the rest of the field. PTV comes off as furthering passivity, uniformity, and authoritarianism. Before accepting his conclusions it would be wise to subject them to reasonably close analysis.

PTV programming may bring satisfaction, for which Knowles attacks it, but it may also help bring dissatisfaction and change. Witness the program, "Who Invited US," that questioned the U.S. role in Vietnam. Witness programs questioning the sacrosanct places in American society of the banks and the FBI. Indeed, the Richard Nixon administration in the U.S. has been pressuring PTV, unfortunately with increasing success, to jettison such public affairs programming that projects "dissatisfaction" and encourages "change" (12, 42, 56, 62, 83, and 87).

While Public Television has not perhaps lived up to its potential as a questioning institution, one wonders whether adult education is a field from which any stones should be cast. Jack London of the University of California, writing in a 1972 Syracuse University Publication in Adult Education on Paulo Freire, edited by Stanley Grabowski, provided some perspective on recent programs in other areas of adult education. "As an adult educator, particularly during the 1960's," London wrote, "I have followed the field of adult education and have been disturbed by its bland approach, its non-controversial stance, and its safe and respectable perspective." Indeed, it has been claimed that it is Public Television that is in the vanguard of adult education when it comes to dealing with America's crucial issues of poverty, race, and civil rights (2).

PTV and Passivity for the Masses?

Some PTV programming may encourage passivity, as Knowles charges, but for that matter, so may some other types of adult education. Despite Knowles's statement to the contrary, however, cultural-informational TV programs may encourage individual viewers to engage "in a process of self-inquiry." Viewers might even discuss certain programs with their families and friends at the dinner table, at the coffee break, or in the bar room. It all depends on the program and who is involved in watching it. But the adult educator can't get in there and evaluate the level of "self-inquiry," interaction, or learning attained. Perhaps it's more in the interest of the viewer, however, to avoid the normative influences of "the group" and the evaluative instruments of such adult educators.

Knowles seems to assume that interaction protects the viewer from possible one-way TV propaganda. Depending upon the society and the particular programming at the time, it is possible that one-way PTV could have evil influences on viewers. But, if the society and the programming at the time provide such propaganda, it is reasonable to assume that Knowles's two-way interaction will be invoked not to counter the propaganda but to norm people to the notions being fostered. It may well be in the interests of freedom to avoid at all costs building into PTV Knowles's two-way interaction.

The notion, furthermore, that programs of adult education are tailored to the needs and purposes of specific audiences while PTV programs appeal to the mass audience is a misinterpretation of PTV programming philosophy. PTV programs, just as other adult education programs, are directed to different audiences (43 and 31.4). Clearly, the "needs, interests, tastes, and purposes" of each individual in the audience will affect what is learned via any programs of adult education, including PTV programs.

A Closed-Minded View of Interaction Questioned

Knowles's rejection of Public Television as relying on a one-way flow of communication overlooks the fact that the viewer has a mind which will interact with the information presented. In evaluating the Knowles attack on PTV, adult education practitioners need to maintain a critical spirit, taking with a grain of salt statements by a group-oriented adult educator like Knowles suggesting that "dynamic interaction" can occur only in a group. As indicated by the foregoing analysis, PTV clearly is no more an inevitable purveyor of uniformity, passivity, and authoritarianism than is any other method of adult education.

The philosophy that rejects PTV as too authoritative an approach for adult education, if carried to its logical conclusion, could reject a book for the same reason. Surely,

Knowles would not wish to have his books taken off the shelves of adult educators because his writings might be viewed by individuals rather than discussed by groups. Let's face it. "...Learners will in the last analysis learn best what they choose to learn...," as Knowles puts it in attacking PTV, whether in groups, in front of a book, or in front of a TV set.

Given the narrow definitions promulgated by Knowles and Verner, only a very limited number of TV programs could ever qualify as adult education programs. Knowles has provided a list of the types of programs that achieve his official blessing, including those which engage in community development or make use of discussion groups (32:343-347).

Eugene Johnson and the Verner-Knowles Philosophy

Programs initiated over the years by Eugene Johnson, former executive director of the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., loom large in Knowles's mind as good broadcast adult education. These were the San Bernardino Valley College Community Education Project and the St. Louis Metroplex Assembly. The former, conducted in the early 1950s, combined radio and discussion. The latter programs combined TV and discussion groups to involve people in talking about fundamental issues and values in an effort to "reestablish a sense of community" in the urban environment (26).

Johnson is another advocate of television as an audio-visual tool. He has sought to use it to bring people face-to-face in discussion groups to achieve specific measurable changes in attitudes and knowledge (27 and 26:11, 46, and 47). As late as 1967 he was arguing publicly that PTV should seek to facilitate a return in the twentieth century United States of "the kind of town meeting" which he thought was "characteristic of American society in the colonial era" (28).

Johnson, Knowles, and Verner subscribe to that definition of adult education which excludes methods lacking direct person-to-person interaction and the means for measuring behavior change brought about by such interaction. While their philosophy leads them to believe that cultural-informational TV is not in itself an instrument of adult education, they are unable to scrap such a powerful innovation as television. They therefore find a way to coopt the medium into their own framework. They conclude that PTV, in Knowles's words, "can truly serve educational purposes," but "only in combination with other media" (32:343). In the view of this group of adult education theoreticians, PTV is not a method of adult education but may be used by adult educators only as a technique or device in conjunction with some other methodology more ideologically acceptable for adult education, narrowly defined.

The Henry Alter Position

The notion of PTV as useful in adult education only as a

technique or device has been a powerful concept in the field. It was a view taken early-on by Henry Alter, who eventually became the leading proponent of PTV as a separate and unique method of adult education. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, however, Alter sought "to promote interaction between broadcasting activities and face-to-face educational activities" (3). Alter argued for "follow-up" actions that would make cultural-informational programs "educational" in the narrow sense. In his professional role as a staff member of the National Educational Television Network, Alter prepared and disseminated study guides, discussion manuals, and other publications, and encouraged establishment of study-discussion groups around the nation in conjunction with certain nationally distributed PTV program series (3 and 18). He became the profession's folk-hero, carrying the banner of adult education among the "Philistines" of Public Broadcasting.

Alter soon proved a turncoat, however, as by 1968 he rejected the narrow definition of adult education. That was the year he published a seminal booklet which provided increased theoretical grounding for adult educators opting for a broader vision both of the field and of cultural-informational television than that offered by the Johnson-Verner-Knowles analysis. Entitled Of Messages and Media: Teaching and Learning by Public Television, this 48-page publication distinguished PTV as a distinctive "educative" method. Public Television, Alter stated categorically, "is not an audio-visual aid" (2:7).

Attack on the Narrow View

Alter claimed that educational television had "become a public forum, reflecting the issues and the culture of the nation as a whole." Instead of providing a didactic experience, he wrote, PTV "educates in its own way, that is, by the subtle power exerted by any sustained exposure to impulses of significance or beauty." His argument indicated a position that PTV's essence was closer to the field of broadcast journalism and performance than to education, narrowly defined.

Indeed, Alter seemed to accept broadcast journalism and performance within his own broad definition of adult education. Public Television, he wrote, raises the intellectual and aesthetic tone of the community, increases to a level of excellence the controversy over significant matters, and furthers the public's ability to make wise choices. PTV's informational programs, he argued, helped "crystallize opinion and commitment," while its cultural programs enhanced "sensitivity and taste." Nowhere in his analysis was there any narrow requirement for two-way interaction of the sort demanded by Johnson, Verner, and Knowles.

Alter illustrated his theoretical analysis of PTV adult education with a description of National Educational Television programs broadcast during 1967 (2:10-36). The meaningful nature of these programs strongly buttressed his case for a

definition of adult education that would include the cultural-informational programming of educational television.

Rejecting demands that PTV accept a narrow definition of education, Alter argued that Public Television should do what it does best. It should "communicate primary human experience, defying time and distance." PTV's "curriculum," he wrote, should be "the ever-changing scene of issues and problems that confront the American people and in the arts, a sampling of contemporary culture and the forces that shape it."

A Unique Mission for PTV

Alter believed that PTV had its own particular job of adult education to do in its own particular way, a way that transcended traditional patterns both of schooling and of informal adult education. He no longer seemed so concerned to supplement PTV with publications and discussion.

PTV's responsibility was, in Alter's word, "educative"--the provision of people with "an instinctive, intuitive understanding of the major currents and styles of the world in which they live." Analytical understanding, he thought, could be achieved by other means of adult education. Let PTV emphasize the intuitive rather than the cognitive, the general rather than the specific, and the random rather than the systematic. That, in Alter's view, was a form of adult education and an excellent and crucial form of it, as well.

Alter's powerful polemic did not prevent further swipes at the PTV medium by some members of the adult education profession. Eugene Johnson, who had testified in behalf of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 (28), a year later bemoaned Public Television's lack of interest in developing uses for informational programs within some "comprehensive program of public affairs education that goes beyond television broadcasts" (Mass Media/Adult Education, April, 1968, p. 3). James Zigerell, dean of Chicago City College's TV College, provided a variation on the Knowles anti-entertainment theme. "Professional ETV broadcasters, given to aping the big-time commercial broadcaster," Zigerell wrote, "often lust after the...production with the big bang, shying away from the less frenetic, articulated series that leads the thoughtful adult in search of enlightenment and mental nutriment to the pursuit of a serious interest or the search for questions instead of immediate answers" (57).

Public Television also had many friends, both in government and in philanthropy. These included McGeorge Bundy and Fred Friendly of the Ford Foundation. There was also the prestigious membership of the special Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, the group that coined the phrase--Public Television--to cover cultural and informational programming (14). There was, as well, the federal government's Corporation for Public Broadcasting, established by 1968 with considerable financial backing from the Ford Foundation and

from Congress, and with the moral sanction of the Carnegie Commission.

Bundy and Friendly viewed PTV as a vital force in the education of adults, as well as others (10 and 23). They saw much value in the medium's public affairs potential and in its cultural programming of dance, drama, and music. Bundy called for Public Television to be critical of existing institutions and to increase programming that would "challenge assumptions underlying our contemporary society" (10).

John Macy, the first president of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, was another advocate of the view of PTV as a method rather than as an audio-visual aid. He termed PTV a medium of challenge and enlightenment. With much satisfaction he quoted Newsweek's statement that the dull, stodgy image of educational television was giving way to "lively, provocative, 'public television' that not only informs but entertains as well" (36).

The Fading Vision of a Unique Mission

The friends of PTV, however, had their differences. Stephen White, a staff representative of the Carnegie Commission, argued that Bundy and Friendly sought to impose journalistic values upon this unique PTV methodology (55). White, by inference, claimed that the imposition of journalistic values was as much an audio-visual use of the PTV medium as any imposition of narrow educational values. White was, in essence, attempting to turn Henry Alter's own argument against him. Without contending with the issues raised by Alter, White sought to dismiss the argument that the essence of PTV as a medium was closer to the fields of broadcast journalism and performance than to the field of education, narrowly defined.

Within a few years the enemies of the PTV method, as it was defined by Henry Alter, had gained the upper hand. By 1973 it appeared that Professor Zigerell's wish might be coming true that PTV would become devoted primarily to the service of the educational establishment as an audio-visual device (57 and 58).

The re-direction of Public Television from a philosophy of uniqueness to that of an audio-visual aid for instruction and traditional adult education was led by the Richard Nixon administration. Clay Whitehead, Nixon's director of the Office of Telecommunications Policy, called in 1971 for PTV to provide less public affairs and cultural programming and more instruction (56). Soon John Macy resigned as president of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. A host of Nixon appointees, many of them with experience in the U.S. international propaganda agency, the Voice of America, moved into posts vacated by those associated with Macy. The Nixon administration embraced the notion of PTV as an audio-visual aid, not for the democracy such adult educators as Knowles, Verner, and Johnson thought was inherent in the concept, but in order to suppress critical

opinion (87).

Enemies of the Broad View Gaining

Thomas B. Curtis, one-time Republican congressman and formerly a Nixon-appointed head of the Voice of America, became for a short time in 1972 and early 1973 a member and chairman of the board of directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. In the Senate hearings which confirmed his appointment, Curtis told his questioners that he would tend to "emphasize the educational aspects" of Public Television. Although he claimed he held a broadly conceived definition of education, he indicated that he "could easily come to the conclusion" that the Corporation for Public Broadcasting should not fund PTV public affairs programs or at least some forms of such programs (52).

At the same time, a veteran noncommercial TV broadcaster with a commitment to using his station as an audio-visual device for hire to the Minneapolis-St. Paul educational and charitable establishment, John Schwarzwalder, pressed for national implementation of his philosophy of educational television (46). In a caustic article in TV Guide Schwarzwalder attacked some of the most challenging of PTV's national programs. He claimed that the relatively few outstanding programs of this nature--"Banks and the Poor," "Who Invited US," the program segment questioning the FBI, and a program in which a dedicated American told why she felt she had to give up her American citizenship--were improper because they leaned toward the political left and thereby lacked objectivity and balance. Schwarzwalder, who long had argued for emphasis on federal funding of local stations rather than of national organizations and key program producing stations, called for returning the medium to "educational use."

Public Television in 1973 was clearly in difficulty. A quick-march return of Public Television to educational television, with "educational" writ small, was underway in the United States. For political reasons the narrow definition of education was more and more popular. Should the narrow definition win out it may well result in the institutionalization and mummification of Public Television as a safe audio-visual tool for the existing educational establishment.

The great dream for noncommercial TV in America in the first half of the 1970s seemed not to be the questioning of basic assumptions urged by Fred Friendly and McGeorge Bundy. It appeared, rather, to be a Sesame Street for adults which combined narrow "educational" values and "show biz" with the purpose of, in the words of Thomas Curtis, "knitting the society together" (52). This thinly disguised drive for homogeneity through clever Instructional Television--in combination with literature and perhaps some two-way mechanisms--may indeed be the immediate wave of the future for noncommercial television (17 and 40).

PTV as the "People's Instrument"

Among the advocates of this use of PTV is a leading theoretician of adult education, Robert Blakely. In his book, The People's Instrument, Blakely called for the medium to achieve a new national consensus that brings to a troubled America that mythological peace and harmony described by educators as existing earlier in the nation's history (5).

While he offered many a verbal nod in the direction of the finer aspects of PTV, Blakely's book boils down to advocacy of programming for disadvantaged adults after the fashion of Sesame Street, that popular children's series combining didacticism with media know-how. He wished to involve these adult viewers in a dialogue and quantitatively evaluate their growth toward established norms in American life. His well-meaning hope that "the people's instrument" would create "a new sense of community" unwittingly relied upon PTV to undertake a pacification campaign against the non-conformist in American society, particularly the black man.

This use of PTV to norm people, it would seem, could be reasonably consistent with the philosophy of adult education and the views of PTV articulated by such advocates of the narrow approach as Coolie Verner, Eugene Johnson, and especially Malcolm Knowles. Johnson's view of PTV as a two-way electronic "town meeting," with provisions for evaluation, has most of the requisites for Blakely's brave new America. Knowles's article on mass media and PTV rhapsodized upon the potential of experiments "proceeding with subliminal, chemical, electrical, hypnotic, and other forms of stimuli to learning..." (32:347). He saw all of these experiments, just as he and Blakely see the kind of PTV they advocate, as seeking "to help people achieve their full capacities" (32:347 and 348).

From Journalism and Performance to Behavior Change

Such is the danger of a philosophy of PTV that puts a priority on the "educational" and downgrades the so-called "journalistic." It may take very little to turn a relatively benign and unique method like PTV into a dangerous audio-visual device available for efforts to change behavior. Perhaps all that is needed would be some two-way components, some means of measuring behavior change, and a bit more euphemistically liberal language about helping "the people."

Such an approach has already reached the drawing board of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (40). It was named ALPS, an acronym for Adult Learning Program Service. The stated purpose of this contemplated ten-year series of programs was to enable millions of Americans who have dropped out of school to complete their high school diplomas. It would meet the requirements so dear to many in adult education for a TV learning plan that incorporates printed materials and audience "feedback." By following this traditional adult education ideology, ALPS

hoped to plug dropouts from America's so-called learning society back into the system via television.

Actually, the do-gooding rhetoric surrounding ALPS enabled the Corporation for Public Broadcasting to justify its efforts to reduce commitments in the controversial public affairs area. Although counter-pressures began to be felt by April of 1973, attempts were made to "defer" public affairs because of the higher priority needs of programming for disadvantaged Americans (87 and 42).

If ALPS or its equivalent were to survive these counter-pressures, however, what these disadvantaged Americans would likely get via TV would be middle-class-approved skills and the requisite attitude toward work. This Instructional Television would also keep them busy and hopeful, whereas PTV public affairs threatened at times to illuminate for them their hopeless positions in the existing society and to stir them to seek to change not themselves but the society.

Failure Devoutly to be Wished

One can only hope that the effort to bring poor people, black people, school dropouts, Chicanos, even "hippy types" before their TV sets to sup at the fountain of approved middle-class knowledge will ultimately fail. It likely will. If the ALPS program or its equivalent is launched, recipients of this middle-class largesse will eventually discover the limited rewards of a high school diploma these days. They will likely come to recognize the cultural imperialism that attends these supposedly altruistic offerings. When the "people" recognize what their "instrument" is being used for, this phase of the ETV movement will likely fall apart.

In the meantime, of course, the de-emphasis of public affairs programs would likely result in the atrophy of this crucial dimension of Public Television. Thus, in the name of providing more "educational" adult education and of helping more people "achieve their full capacities," Public Television may well be destroyed as a viable instrument for achieving an informed and critical public. That is what PTV station managers and all Americans likely have to look forward to if they allow adult education's vogue values to take precedence in their medium.

The Role of the Adult Education Profession in PTV

This review must conclude on a somewhat pessimistic note. It is clear that PTV, viewed as a unique method of adult education, has been one of the most meaningful elements in American adult education in recent years. As a result of its value, it is in the process of being destroyed as a method and re-directed as an audio-visual aid. The theory and practice now in vogue in adult education has the potential for taking advantage of

this reaction and for giving adult educators a larger role in educational television than heretofore. This analysis has shown, however, that to the extent that the adult education establishment ever takes hold of "The People's Instrument" to "bring the people together again," to that extent will the individual American be in great jeopardy.

It may well be that any continuing dominance in the profession of a narrow definition of adult education should disqualify it from extensive involvement in Public Television. It may be in the best interests of "the people" to keep the PTV instrument out of the hands of an adult education profession operating on a narrow definition. Instead of viewing all adult education as a two-way dialogue intent upon behavior change, it might be better to broaden out the definition to incorporate such "educative" experiences, to use Henry Alter's term, as the type of cultural and informational TV programming he described in his Of Messages and Media (2). A broad definition might qualify the field for a more extensive involvement in Public Television or at least for a more serious recognition of its concerns for PTV by those in charge of this broadcasting medium.

THE LITERATURE

Part I: The Conflicting Hopes

(1) Henry Alter, "Empathy, Daring, Freedom," Educational Broadcasting Review, IV (February, 1970), p. 33.

The author took issue with Warren Seibert's call for dedicating PTV to a narrow definition of education. Alter rejected what he felt were Seibert's wishes that "public TV should be somewhat less public, more cautiously academic, and certainly, less entertaining."

(2) Henry C. Alter, Of Messages and Media: Teaching and Learning by Public Television, Brookline, Massachusetts: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1968. (Available from Syracuse University Publications in Continuing Education, 224 Huntington Hall, Syracuse, New York.)

The purpose of this essay was to explain and demonstrate the special strength of Public Television as an "educative" method. Part One traced the evolution of educational television, estimated the performance of educational television over the years, and analyzed and interpreted the special method and style of Public Television as an educational medium. Part Two described and discussed the programs produced by National Educational Television. It demonstrated how a viewer might have "studied" such varied areas as geography, arts, science, education, and current issues in the special style of television--in shows dictated by events.

(3) Henry Alter, "Television in the Community: We Seek an Approach," Adult Leadership, X (October, 1961), pp. 106-108.

This early philosophical analysis of educational television by Alter seemed to assume the medium was a technique or device for getting across certain content to those engaging in a broader learning activity, one that transcended the television medium. Alter believed his task as director of program utilization for National Educational Television was "to promote interaction between broadcasting activities and face-to-face educational activities." Having expressly excluded instructional-type programming from his purview, he planned to undertake what he thought of as "follow-up" actions that would make cultural-informational programs "educational" in a narrow definitional sense.

(4) Michael J. Arlen, "PBL," in Living-Room War, New York: The Viking Press, 1969, pp. 129-134.

The television critic for the New Yorker magazine wrote this article in support of a new Public Television public affairs series that had received somewhat less than critical

acclaim. Admitting weaknesesses in the program, he responded sarcastically to some of the accusations that the program's segments about Black America allowed for tedium and a lack of balance. "Tedium, admittedly, is pretty grim," Arlen wrote, "but maybe the only worse thing than feeling it is never being given the chance to find out whose tedium it really is."

Agreeing that a confrontation between a PTV studio of blacks and whites was unbalanced, Arlen asked, "Why should it be balanced? It was just very good, it unfolded, showed people expressing things they thought about this issue; and if I knew anywhere else on the airwaves that you found this sort of thing I'd maybe be a little more offhand about what PBL did that night, but then I don't." Arlen clearly accepted the broadcasting approach to education exemplified by PBL.

(5) Robert J. Blakely, The People's Instrument: A Philosophy of Programming for Public Television, Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1971.

While arguing that the primary role of Public Broadcasting should be to help the American people use rational inquiry methods to seek the "truth," Blakely showed propensities to use PTV and adult education techniques to guide his "searching" viewers to his own version of that "truth." Rational inquiry was mere rhetoric. His basic goals were more in tune with the behavior change and community development approaches of adult education theoreticians such as Malcolm Knowles. Blakely's goal was the development by PTV of commitment in all Americans to a new national consensus.

(6) Robert J. Blakely and Robert A. Carlson in an exchange on the "Interpretation of the American Dream," Educational Broadcasting Review, VI (August, 1972), pp. 228-231.

Taking exception to Carlson's review of his book in the April issue of this leading professional journal, Blakely forcefully reiterated his argument in behalf of a new American consensus, his interpretation of the American Dream. Carlson responded by asking Blakely to re-examine his assumptions regarding consensus to see if he might unwittingly be disputing in behalf of a white middle-class pacification program aimed at black people. "The only hope for justice may be, not consensus and talk," Carlson wrote, "but continued struggle, divisiveness and confrontation."

(7) Frederick Breitenfeld, Jr., "An Analysis of the Role of Principal Philosophies of Adult Education in Educational Television Programming for Adults," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York, 1963. (Available from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, as Order No. 64-5644.)

Assuming educational television to be a form of liberal adult education, Breitenfeld investigated ETV programming in terms of philosophical attitudes undergirding it. He identified

two views toward liberal adult education TV programming which he termed traditionalist and modernist. The traditionalist argues, Breitenfeld wrote, that content transcends method, that the goal of liberal adult education is individual change, that the audience for continuing education is limited to intellectually curious community leaders, and that the result is an improved community. The modernist contends that method can be educative in itself, the goal of liberal adult education is often community betterment, the audience for continuing education is the entire populace, and the result is a group of improved individuals.

Application of the model could prove difficult. It would appear that the traditionalist-modernist argument breaks down outside the context of Breitenfeld's specific literary work. It would be quite inaccurate, for example, to assign to these categories programming advocated by such adult educators as Knowles, Blakely, Johnson, Verner, Carlson, or Alter.

(8) Frederick Breitenfeld, Jr., "A Statement on the Financing of Public Broadcasting," Office of the Executive Director, Maryland Center for Public Broadcasting, 1972. (Available from Maryland Center for Public Broadcasting, Owings Mills, Maryland 21117.)

This highly political and highly acceptable statement in 1972 by the executive director of the Maryland Center for Public Broadcasting rejected broadcasting values as the basis for the medium. Breitenfeld argued for basing PTV, not upon national public affairs and performance programming, but upon the local stations and the less "glamorous" provision of services to their clientele groups.

(9) Vernon Bronson, "When Educational Television Goes Public," Educational Broadcasting Review, III (December, 1969), pp. 12-16.

This schoolman, long interested in using television for instruction, worried that Public Television's orientation to broadcasting values might turn it into an evil "American BBC." Bronson preferred to see Public Television become, instead, Instructional Television--"sound," "systematic," and "geared to the needs of the schools."

(10) McGeorge Bundy, "Public Broadcasting: Progress and Promise," National Association of Educational Broadcasters Convention Report, 44th Annual Convention, Washington, D.C., 1968, pp. 3-8.

An enthusiastic Ford Foundation president told public broadcasters to train their cameras on the political process, to keep it "under analysis on a continuing basis," and to be "bold." He urged these relatively low level administrative personnel, shortly after the election of a U.S. President unsympathetic to the idea, to generate controversy and debate for the light such heat would shed.

(11) Robert A. Carlson, "Educator vs. Broadcaster in the Development of ETV: A Brief History of Educational Television in the United States," in John A. Niemi, ed., Mass Media and Adult Education, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Educational Technology Publications, 1971.

This historical study traced the development of Public Television within a philosophical framework of debate between broadcasting theory and much different theory advocated by many schoolmen and by some adult educators. While in earlier days, Carlson wrote, the debate could be described as a "tempest in a teapot," in light of growing national interest and federal funding of the medium the picture had become a more serious matter by the 1970s. Historical-philosophical analysis of the situation by the author suggested that standard educational theory should have little or no place of influence in the Public Television medium.

(12) Robert A. Carlson, "Public Television: Retrospect and Prospect," Educational Broadcasting, V (January/February, 1972), pp. 13 ff.

Based on his reading of the history of Public Television, Carlson dealt with a series of potential futures for the medium. For a variety of reasons he doubted the likelihood of the medium engaging in community development, serving as a gadfly, or serving as a useful influence on commercial TV. He questioned the ultimate outcomes of PTV efforts to educate the poor to middle-class values or to broaden the availability of university education for the people.

Carlson saw the future of PTV bound up with the interests of America's intellectual elite. He expected PTV ultimately to emphasize what he termed "'better' programs," "cultural and 'refined' programs. It will all be very nice and very middle-class and largely irrelevant to the social problems of the nation." He claimed that this is the tradition of American adult education, a tradition which he argued is a more ethical position for PTV to adopt than to seek to salvage the poor or to create "a harmonious and middle-class community."

(13) Robert A. Carlson, Review of "The People's Instrument," Educational Broadcasting Review, VI (April, 1972), pp. 122-124.

This review of Robert J. Blakely's recommended philosophy of programming for PTV touched off an exchange, noted elsewhere in this study, between these two professors of adult education. In the review Carlson questioned Blakely's objectives for PTV as "white middle-class liberal efforts to further harmony where harmony...[is] more in the interests of that group than of any other part of the society."

(14) Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, Public Television: A Program for Action, New York: Bantam Books, 1967.

The prestigious members of this special committee

separated two types of programming out of the overall designation of educational television. One type, largely public affairs and performance programming, they called Public Television. The other type, didactic programming, they termed Instructional Television. The commission then urged Congress to create a non-profit and politically insulated corporation to receive and disburse private and government funds to support the public type of television it championed.

(15) Edwin G. Cohen, "Continuing Public Education Broadcasting: Today and Tomorrow," Educational Broadcasting Review, IV (February, 1970), pp. 3-11.

The director of the National Instructional Television Center sought to break down the Carnegie Commission's separation of Public TV from Instructional TV. Cohen requested that the Corporation for Public Broadcasting take responsibility for funding instructional programming as part of its PTV activities by redefining instruction as "Public Education."

His model called for Public Education to take an equal place with what he called Public Culture and Public Affairs in the competition for funds from the CPB. Cohen argued that the latter two areas dealt largely with the intuitive and the subjective. His area of Public Education, he argued, could more readily contribute to "the solution of urgent, social problems" because it emphasized the rational and the objective and concerned itself with "specification and verification of behavior changes within its domain."

(16) Edwin G. Cohen, "Television and Adult Education in the United States," speech prepared for the International Seminar on Television and Popular Education, sponsored by the French National Commission for UNESCO, May 12-23, 1958. (Available from R.A. Carlson, College of Education, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.)

The basic assumption underlying at least the first half of this presentation was that "television is a means and not a way to education." Cohen, then an employee of NET, shared the bias toward TV so prevalent in adult education that television is an audio-visual device, not a unique method of education. TV, he wrote, is not "an educational method that can be compared to the lecture, the discussion, or some other form of providing learning. Rather, television is a mechanism through which any teaching method may be used to teach individuals or groups, at home or in some other meeting place."

He went on to tell his audience that NET's policy then held that "educational television must in fact be educational; that it must effect changes of an educational nature in the viewer." Entertainment values, he said, were utilized by NET only as means to enhance the educational objectives of programming.

Cohen claimed that NET programmed at that time largely in

systematic series so as to achieve more lasting behavior changes. Educational TV, he argued, "is concerned with programs that will inform, will develop skills and abilities, will increase understanding, will inculcate socially approved attitudes and values, and will affect behavior either overtly or covertly." This was a far cry from the NET policy of "educative" programming later promulgated by Henry Alter.

While Cohen appeared to accept and advocate the narrow definition of adult education, he was still able to speak of cultural and public affairs programming, especially that done by commercial TV networks and stations, as another facet of televised adult education. He seemed unconcerned that this type of programming failed to fit the framework of adult education that he had so laboriously built in the first part of his paper.

(17) Thomas B. Curtis, "Steps to Long-Range Financing," Educational Broadcasting Review, VI (December, 1972), pp. 395-397.

President Nixon's choice to head the board of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting dedicated his organization to the expansion of didactic programs. He particularly singled out CPB's Adult Learning Program Service, a projected adult equivalent of Sesame Street, as a portent of things to come.

(18) Norma Davenport, "Mass Media in Adult Education--Section Meeting," Adult Leadership, (January, 1964), p. 213.

Henry Alter of National Educational Television presented adult educators with NET's plans for the program series, "Metropolis--Creator or Destroyer?" Committed at that time to the dominant view in adult education of TV as an audio-visual device, Alter "proposed that only half the job of what an educational broadcast should be doing is done unless it is accompanied by an educational plan." Accordingly, he described his plan for involving large numbers of key people in establishing the series and for utilizing film, a study guide, discussion groups, and promotional literature in achieving "educational" use of the series.

(19) William Y. Elliott, ed., Television's Impact on American Culture, East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1956.

This publication offered a view of how TV in its various manifestations was meeting its responsibilities to the general welfare of the United States in 1955. Four chapters related specifically to educational television, providing a varied picture of how educational broadcasters saw the role of the National Educational Television Network (then the ETRC). In his own chapter the editor attacked the national programming organization for relying "on the sedate curriculum of the colleges...." Elliott called for ETV programming to "become competitive as entertainment as well as edification...."

(20) Karen Fisher, "Journalism and Show Biz--Wrong for ETV?" Home

Furnishings Daily, Monday, January 15, 1968, pp. 86 and 92.

This article recorded the not untypical view of establishment educators that Public Television should be "educational" and leave cultural-informational programming to commercial stations and networks. Dr. Alvin H. Feldzamen, director of special projects at the University of the State of New York, judged that "a documentary about the poor or Vietnam is essentially frivolous" since only intellectuals tended, he thought, to watch such programs. "...What U.S. society needed," according to his definition of education, was "true education... useful instruction that would help people learn skills, get better jobs, lead more creative lives."

(21) The Ford Foundation, Comments and Legal Brief, August 1, 1966, and Reply Comments, Reply Legal Brief, and Technical and Economic Comments, December 12, 1966, before the Federal Communications Commission in the Matter of the Establishment of Domestic Communications Satellite Facilities by Non-Governmental Entities, Docket 16495, five volumes, New York: Ford Foundation, 1966.

The Ford Foundation proposed a "people's dividend" for noncommercial TV in any replacement of land-line transmission of private commercial network programs with communications satellite transmission of those programs. Responding to the American Broadcasting Company's initial proposal and later proposals by others to conduct networking by satellite, the Foundation argued that the people's money had funded satellite technology. Any use of such technology, therefore, ought to keep the public interest in mind. Part of the financial savings accruing to private broadcasting interests using satellite technology, the Foundation argued, should go to the support of public noncommercial TV. PTV was also to have use of the satellite interconnection facility free of charge for an interconnected noncommercial TV network. It was a bold proposal which, had it been accepted as workable technically and politically in the U.S., would have strengthened the position of those advocating an effective, national, noncommercial PTV network.

(22) "Ford TV Proposal Raises Issue," Michigan Education Journal, XLIV (January 1, 1967), p. 1.

This one-page article provided an excellent resume for readers in its Michigan educational community of the Ford Foundation proposal to fund PTV through satellite technology. It also presented interpretations regarding implications of the proposal, drawing most of them from the analysis made by Jack Gould in the New York Times.

(23) Fred W. Friendly, "The Beginning: Circumstances Within Our Control," Chapter 11 of Due to Circumstances Beyond Our Control, New York: Random House, 1967, pp. 301-325.

This instigator of the idea to interconnect and support

Public Television by means of satellite technology recounted how the idea developed into a concrete Ford Foundation proposal to the Federal Communications Commission. The broadcasting values underlying the proposal assumed that PTV should be a public affairs and performance network. The Ford Foundation's proposal, opposed by other values and interests, failed to gain acceptance.

(24) William Harlan Hale, "A Legacy from the Model T to the Age of ETV," The Reporter, XVI (May 30, 1957), pp. 10-15.

This perceptive article accurately reflected the struggle among ETV policy-makers within the Ford Foundation in the late 1950s. It showed that the "philanthropoids" involved in funding the medium split on the relative broadness of their definition of education. One group, reflecting an extremely narrow view, wished to support the medium only as an audio-visual device to carry traditional schooling into the classroom. The other group, associated more closely with adult education, viewed the medium as a unique method of providing "mental enrichment to Americans everywhere."

Both groups, however, bore the intellectual stamp of Robert M. Hutchins, the educational "conservative" who was one of the key figures in the early leadership of the Ford Foundation. Both therefore tended to deprecate the widely held view in adult education that ETV would have to become a two-way medium before it could become truly educational. Reflecting this bias himself, the author of the article spoke of the need for more feeding of knowledge to the people and less "feedback" from them. He feared that the educational philosophy that required two-way interaction tended to exalt "form over substance,...leaving the form increasingly empty."

(25) Richard Hooper, "ETV: License to Diversify," Educational Broadcasting Review, III (February, 1969), pp. 3-6.

Hooper, a visitor in the U.S. from the BBC, suggested that implementation of the Carnegie Commission's emphasis on a local system of PTV was proving destructive to programming. Already, he felt, there were too many noncommercial stations competing with one another for programming, money, and personnel. "A network of strong regional stations--building on KQED, WQED, WGBH, etc.--with strong support from a better financed National Educational Television," Hooper wrote, "might be a much more viable model for ETV as of today."

(26) Eugene I. Johnson, Metroplex Assembly: An Experiment in Community Education, Brookline, Massachusetts: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1965. (Available from Syracuse University Publications in Continuing Education, 224 Huntington Hall, Syracuse, New York.)

Eugene Johnson sought to demonstrate in Metropolitan St. Louis that educational television could re-establish a sense of community in America. His five-year Metroplex Assembly

project, founded in 1958, presented over ETV Station KETC a weekly series of half hour telecasts dealing with different issues related to the quality of urban life. These programs were combined with a network of informal viewing groups meeting in private homes, church halls, neighborhood centers, and elsewhere. After each telecast came an hour of discussion, then another half hour of televised panel discussion. Staff members at the Civic Education Center of Washington University selected themes, defined questions, produced the broadcasts, and recruited and trained leaders for the viewing groups. Implications were noted in the study for effective future program planning and for education, social change, and individual development.

(27) Eugene I. Johnson, "Needed: A New Coalition for Public Affairs Education (A Review of the Literature)," Mass Media/Adult Education, (Fall, 1972), pp. 1-5.

Johnson, discouraged by results of a survey indicating disillusionment by young people over the possibilities of achieving the American rhetoric of freedom and equality for all without violence, blamed part of the problem on the failure of PTV public affairs programming to educate the American people effectively in behalf of the necessary changes in their action. Johnson particularly worried about the failure of PTV programming which sought to focus and clarify election issues to get "into the bloodstream of local and national society." He added another to his long list of pleas over the years in behalf of involving masses of people in PTV programs through the use of educational materials, discussion groups, and other techniques of adult education. Johnson's deep concern was with that bugaboo of adult education, "one-way broadcasting."

(28) Eugene I. Johnson, "Statement of Dr. Eugene I. Johnson, Executive Director, Adult Education Association of the United States of America, Washington, D.C., accompanied by Dr. Patricia Grinager, Chairman, Section of Mass Media in Education," in United States Senate Committee on Commerce, The Public Television Act of 1967, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Communications on S. 1160, 90th Cong., 1st Sess., April 11-14 and 25-28, 1967, pp. 596-602.

The executive director of the AEA and its chairman of the Mass Media Section wholeheartedly endorsed the Public Television Act of 1967 in their testimony before Senator John O. Pastore's subcommittee. In attempting to show the cooperation they claimed prevailed between adult educators and public broadcasters they pointed to four series of programs. All four were dedicated to furthering citizen involvement and interaction among people. Eugene Johnson, reflecting his long commitment to television as a medium of community development, waxed enthusiastically about its potential to restore "a human scale to the consideration of public issues."

(29) Ed Joyce, "On the Rocky Road to ETV's Future," New York Times, Sunday, January 29, 1967, Section 2, p. D19.

Lewis Freedman, former commercial and noncommercial broadcaster and at the time a consultant to the Ford Foundation, spoke of his commitment to cultural television. He saw the meaningful future of PTV, not in instructional programming, but in helping to create the nation's culture by introducing "new ideas, new techniques, new forms, new substances" into society. He was convinced that PTV would ultimately become a creative force for cultural change, avoiding the temptation of serving merely as an audio-visual aid for established forms of communication and education.

(30) Francis Keppel, "ETV's Promise Still to Come," NAEB Journal, XXIV (March-April, 1965), pp. 15-20.

The then U.S. Commissioner of Education warned that a series of myths, concern for money, and a lack of imagination were retarding development of educational television.

He sought to dispel the mythology that educational television could present "Master Teachers" and performances of classical music and dance to inexpensively educate and bring culture to the United States. He called for avoidance of funding a new network with federal monies, partly because such an institution would be subject to increased pressure for conformity. NET, he thought, should be more strongly financed by a variety of sources and should continue to serve as the national network.

He called for wedding education and broadcasting values more effectively in television. Educational television, he thought, could "be instructive without being ponderous, appealing without being frivolous, intelligent without being dull. Educational television has much to learn about audiences from commercial television--not how to bring them in by the multimillions, perhaps, but how to avoid driving them out by the hundred thousands."

(31) The Charles F. Kettering Foundation, Transcript of Proceedings: Kettering Conference on Public Television Programming, Wingspread, Racine, Wisconsin, June 25-28, 1969. (Available on special request from Charles F. Kettering Foundation, Suite 300, 5335 Far Hills Avenue, Dayton, Ohio 45429.)

The purpose of this conference was to help develop "a preliminary philosophy to guide programming decisions in public television." It brought together an influential group of largely white, middle-class, liberal Americans within and outside of PTV to consider ways of strengthening prime time PTV programming. Programming philosophy offered ranged from the oft-heard call to re-establish "the colonial New England Town Meeting concept of public debate" to demands to force national controversial programming upon local stations, the boards of which were termed nonrepresentative of their communities and involved in frustrating the programming desires of the people. It was partly out of the thrust engendered by these wide-ranging deliberations that Robert Blakely was able to evolve

his statement on PTV programming which he titled The People's Instrument.

(32) Malcolm S. Knowles, "Adult Education," in Peter H. Rossi and Bruce J. Biddle, eds., The New Media and Education, Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., Inc., Anchor Book, 1967, pp. 329-352.

Malcolm Knowles offered a serious theoretical argument against PTV as a method of adult education. He held that any mass medium, to be accorded adult education status, must produce changes in knowledge, attitudes, or values. While on the one hand he questioned the ability of TV to do this on its own, on the other he expressed pleasure with the impact he assumed TV had produced in helping to reduce differentiations among Americans in language, dress, standards of conduct, leisure time activity, cultural interests, and consumer taste. This opponent of TV as a dangerous one-way method was enthusiastic about these norming tendencies and about the increasing number of U.S. households with TV sets. "These tendencies," he wrote, "...begin to point toward an environment for continuing learning never visualized by even the most extreme utopians."

(33) Gregory Knox, "Fourth Network: The Public Be Damned," The Nation, CCXIV (March 13, 1972), pp. 329-332.

This article, written by a member of the left-leaning Network Project at Columbia University, called for increased funding for PTV but also for increased local control of the medium. Knox was concerned about the national interconnection service's exercise of editorial judgment, which he equated with censorship, over programming to be distributed via the PTV network. While the rhetoric of Knox sounded much like that of the Nixon administration, he seemed to fear right-wing influences on the network where Nixon saw left-wing tendencies.

(34) Allen E. Koenig and Ruane B. Hill, eds., The Farther Vision: Educational Television Today, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967.

This was an interim assessment of educational TV five years after the 1962 report by Wilbur Schramm, et al., regarding ETV's next ten years. As in the earlier book, the picture of ETV that unfolded was of leaders of an undernourished medium scrounging for money and fighting their way through competing philosophies for a shot at relatively small audiences. What differentiated this view of the future with that offered five years earlier were a series of developments: publication of the findings of the Carnegie Commission on ETV, passage of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, and the possibilities of satellite technology.

(35) Douglas Leiterman, "Documentaries," in Transcript of Proceedings: Kettering Conference on Public Television Programming, Dayton, Ohio: The Charles F. Kettering Foundation, 1969.

This leading TV producer--with experience with NET, CBS,

and Canada's CBC--urged Public Television to be controversial. "I would like to make people angry, and to make them laugh. I would like to see a program that would make some congressmen threaten to withhold their vote for funds for public television." This was heady stuff for station managers attending the conference. Leiterman was telling them they should involve and inform the public and give leadership in changing American society. This TV producer clearly viewed PTV as a broadcast method of education.

(36) John W. Macy, Jr., "The Role of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting in the United States," European Broadcasting Union Review, CXXIX-B (September, 1971), pp. 36-41.

The first president of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting outlined the policies under which he operated his organization. He spoke of the CPB as an agency that kept its hands off the content of national programming that it funded. He indicated a commitment to public affairs programming. These policies, however, came under severe pressure after his replacement by Nixon appointees.

(37) Marya Mannes, "Beggars or Choosers," Educational Broadcasting Review, III (1969 Convention Report), pp. 5-9.

This influential journalist and critic urged Public Television to become controversial and exciting in order to make people think. If station managers continued with their "Don't Rock the Boat" philosophy, she argued, PTV might achieve short-term support but would die in the long run for lack of viewers.

She advocated fewer panel programs and more stories of "real people as they really are and really live." She called for more PTV personalities, more humor, and the creation of PTV "commercials" in behalf of ideas. Marya Mannes, in essence, was asking Public TV broadcasters to emphasize broadcasting values and to reject education in its narrowly defined form.

(38) Richard J. Meyer, "NETPTVETVITV: Going Public with Public TV," Media and Methods, VI (September, 1969), pp. 33-35.

After a brief and effective backgrounding of the reader regarding some of the different facets of Public TV, this director of school TV for PTV Station WNDT, New York, launched into a discourse as to the hopes he held for the medium. He was full of enthusiasm. "Instructional Television is emerging as an important source of exciting material for the school room." Cultural-informational programming would no longer be viewed "only by the Harper's Magazine crowd." "An entire curriculum in Black Studies will be introduced for the secondary grades." School systems, anti-poverty agencies, and street gangs were already doing their own videotaping which might be aired via PTV channels. "Why not provide the [anti-establishment] underground [film and press] with [PTV] time of their own," he asked.

(39) Harry L. Miller, Patterns of Educational Use of a Televised Public Affairs Program: A Study of "Metropolis, Creator or Destroyer?" New York: New York University, 1966.

Assuming a narrow view of adult education--one that demanded supplementary study materials, interaction, and observable behavior change--this report sought to show the "educational" value of a specific program series distributed by National Educational Television.

(40) John A. Montgomery, "AIPS/STRIVE: A Case for Commitment by Public Broadcasting," Educational Broadcasting Review, VI (August, 1972), pp. 207-214.

This advocate of instructional programming within the ranks of public broadcasters called for his colleagues to support a new, long-term, Sesame Street-like adult basic education series on the drawing board of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. The programs were being planned to impart specific skills and to enable millions of Americans to complete high school. "Someday television graduations for those who choose to participate may be a worthwhile prime-time event which... marks the beginning of a new era," Montgomery wrote, "when the noncommercial media have the financial support and viewership we all desire."

(41) Carroll V. Newsom, ed., A Television Policy for Education, Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1952.

This publication recorded proceedings of the Television Programs Institute in Pennsylvania in 1952, a landmark conference that helped set a pattern of development for Public Television in the United States. The papers and talks presented by attenders touched on a number of issues that would recur constantly throughout the history of the medium. The excitement and challenge felt by the assembled thinkers in 1952 communicates itself today through this record of proceedings.

(42) Jack O'Brien, Corporation for Public Broadcasting News Release, March 28, 1973. (Available from CPB, 888 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.)

Robert Benjamin, board member of CPB, was quoted as telling the Senate Communications Subcommittee that the Corporation had given high priority to support of certain didactic programming. That decision meant, he said, "we didn't have that money available for public affairs programs which everybody suggests were denied access. They haven't been. They have been deferred because there hasn't been enough money to accept them."

(43) Terrence O'Flaherty, "The Cinderella Network," American Education, VII (November, 1971), pp. 15-17.

This brief background article on PTV noted the purpose of

the medium to provide a diversity of programming otherwise unavailable to viewers of American television. Because of that purpose, "every program is grooved for a certain type of person who, for the most part, is not wildly attracted to the commercial video carnival." National PTV in its 1970-71 season, O'Flaherty wrote, offered TV's only regularly scheduled dramatic series, grand opera program, book series, programs regarding international opinion, rock music series, programs intended for black audiences, and series devoted to the work of young experimental film-makers.

Moving from this orientation toward the individual and his interests, O'Flaherty suddenly switched gears. He expressed appreciation to those who helped Public Television to rise to a higher priority in American life. "The network's strongest adhesive," he wrote, "is the dedication of a few people who believe that the logical way to unify and inform Americans is to use one of the things they all have in common--not religion, or bath tubs, death, or taxes, but television viewing, which is, next to sleeping, the activity that occupies most of the time Americans spend in their homes." O'Flaherty enthused over "Sesame Street" which he termed, quite favorably from his point of view, "a sort of electronic McGuffey's Reader."

(44) John Ohliger, "Adult Education Television in the United States: The Current Scene," Educational Television International, III (December, 1969), pp. 262 and 263.

This was the John Ohliger of 1969, holding tightly to his "listening groups" as the panacea for "improving the quality of American social, political, and cultural life." In this brief, two-page overview intended for readers overseas regarding adult education television in the U.S., he reflected the narrow view of Malcolm Knowles, et al. He argued that "TV programs by themselves accomplish little, whereas educational impact can be maximized by utilizing an integrated approach involving other means such as home discussion groups, feedback, readings, and correspondence study." Ohliger appeared to accept the notion that adult education had to be didactic. He seemed unaware of the broadly educational capabilities of public affairs and performance programs for adults, that is, of Public Television. But that was, indeed, the Ohliger of 1969.

By 1972 a new Ohliger had come forth with serious questions about his earlier panaceas. In a booklet published in cooperation with two colleagues by the Syracuse University Publications in Continuing Education series, he was highly critical of the discussion method and its role in adult education. While Toward Gog and Magog Or?: A Critical Review of the Literature of Adult Group Discussion publicly displayed his changed position on discussion groups, any metamorphosis regarding his view of PTV as adult education must be inferenced out of his post-1969 writings.

(45) Wilbur Schramm, ed., Educational Television: The Next Ten Years, Stanford University: The Institute for Communications

Research, 1962.

Leading participants in and observers of the educational television movement put their heads together in 1962 at the financial urging of the United States Office of Education to survey the future of ETV. Educational Television: The Next Ten Years was their report.

For the perceptive reader the wide philosophical differences as to the purposes for the medium are easily discernible. The clearest statement along these lines was by University of Miami broadcaster Sydney Head. He argued that in-school TV programming wasted a valuable public resource. He wanted ETV to be creative and controversial, to seek more of a mass audience, and to bring the medium closer to its potential in public affairs programming. He was, in essence, an early advocate of Public TV.

(46) John C. Schwarzwalder, "Public Broadcasting Must Clean House," TV Guide, XX (September 30, 1972), pp. 6-9.

The manager of the Minneapolis-St. Paul PTV station, an advocate of PTV as an audio-visual technique or device, called for national leaders of the movement who viewed it as a method to resign. Their openness to a broad definition of education had apparently led to what he considered to be left-wing and Ford Foundation values reflected in "a high percentage of so-called public-affairs programs."

This Humphrey Democrat attacked the PTV leadership for failing to exercise censorship over programs going out over the network. He claimed to seek "balanced programming." As a station manager interested in increasing his source of funds, however, he was likely more concerned with President Nixon's recent veto of a funding bill for PTV and with placating power than with upholding some vague, indeed impossible, notion of "balance" in every PTV program.

(47) Warren P. Seibert, "Toward Professionalism," Educational Broadcasting Review, III (October, 1969), pp. 21 and 22.

In a free-wheeling attack on what he viewed as the social irresponsibility of public broadcasters, Professor Seibert hurled such phrases at the profession as "embezzlement of faith," "retreat from the obligations of service," "blind to educational responsibilities," and "plagiarism" of broadcasting values. One of the deep concerns of this theoretician of communications was Public Broadcasting's "preference for the rituals and roles observed in commercial and entertainment production...." He wanted to ensure that Public Broadcasting maintained some allegience to his notions of "education."

(48) Arthur L. Singer, Jr., "The Carnegie Report Revisited," Educational Broadcasting Review, V (August, 1971), pp. 3-10.

The author, an important figure in the initiation of the

Carnegie Commission, assessed progress over four years in implementation of the group's recommendations. He found little to please him. He was particularly unhappy with the lack of effective development in local station programming upon which the Carnegie Commission had placed such high hopes. Singer blamed the Ford Foundation and national funding and networking agencies for weakening localism by centralizing programming.

(49) United States House of Representatives Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Public Television Act of 1967, Hearings on H.R. 6736 and S1160 and H.R. 4140, 90th Cong., 1st Sess., July 11-14 and 17-21, 1967.

This testimony provided what was largely a rerun of the earlier Senate hearings, with appearances in behalf of the act by representatives of the nation's major public, private, and governmental interests. The same disparities in thinking regarding the goals, functions, organization, and source of funds for the medium were heard by House committee members as had been heard by Senators.

(50) U.S. Senate Committee on Commerce, Extension of Authorizations Under the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Communications on S. 1242, 91st Cong., 1st Sess., April 30 and May 1, 1969.

These hearings were held two years after passage of the Public Broadcasting Act that established a Corporation for Public Broadcasting to interconnect Public TV stations and to seek to increase support for the institution. Unlike the earlier hearings, disquieting concerns were raised.

A new administration, the Nixon administration, had taken over from the supportive Johnson administration. Funding for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting was well below the PTV industry's expectations. And PTV producers were beginning to organize in hopes of influencing the development of the medium. As a first step they sought PTV funding from Congress on other than an annual appropriation basis. They expressed fears that their own journalistic freedom and integrity might be coming into jeopardy under the prevailing pattern of funding.

(51) United States Senate Committee on Commerce, The Public Television Act of 1967, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Communications on S. 1160, 90th Cong., 1st Sess., April 11-14 and 25-28, 1967.

These hearings recorded statements and discussion with Senators by witnesses favoring increased funding of the educational TV institution. Appearances were made by representatives of the legislative and administrative arms of government, philanthropic organizations, educational broadcasting, universities, private industry, commercial broadcasting, religious organizations, unions, and adult education. While the

inter-agency bickering was muted, the widely disparate hopes and expectations for the Public Television medium are clearly discernible in these 696 pages of testimony.

(52) United States Senate, Transcript of Proceedings of the Committee on Commerce regarding the Nomination of Thomas B. Curtis as a Member of the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, Washington, D.C., Friday, September 8, 1972. (Available from Monick-Sullivan, 415 Second Street, N.E., Washington, D.C., 20002. Cost: approximately $40.)

Senators discussed with former Congressman Curtis their philosophies and values regarding PTV, and he entered into dialogue with them. A number of the difficulties facing Public Television because of Congressional oversight and funding come out quite clearly in the transcript.

(53) David Walker, "Who Runs Educational TV?" The New Republic, CLVI (February 11, 1967), pp. 35-37.

This Yale University critic of cultural-informational programming expressed uneasiness about the tendency of journalistic and artistic values to overwhelm instructional values in the planning of PTV programming. In light of the recommendations of the Carnegie Commission for public funding of the medium, Walker urged PTV "to find the kind of leadership which will make ETV not only non-commercial and artistic, but truly educational."

(54) John F. White, "ETV and the Next Ten Years," NAEB Journal (May-June, 1963), pp. 57-63.

The then president of National Educational Television predicted a brilliant future for ETV and for his national programming organization. He announced a policy, never implemented, of providing a library service of instructional materials to the majority of stations and a network service of "superb educational, cultural, and informational programming for the American people" through a relatively small number of key stations that would cover most of the U.S. population.

(55) Stephen White, "Carnegie, Ford, and Public Television," Public Interest, IX (Fall, 1967), pp. 8-19.

White discussed the reports of the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Commission which both recommended future directions for educational, noncommercial TV. Ford proposed to use a communications satellite for free PTV interconnection and for a similar service to commercial TV networks for a price. Savings to commercial networks provided by satellite replacement of land interconnection costs would then be used to pay for noncommercial TV. "The Ford proposal was radical, sensational, and different," White wrote, "and it caught both the public fancy and the public attention."

White, who was a member of the Carnegie Commission data

gathering staff, argued that the Ford Foundation recommendations differed in many respects from the Public TV that the Carnegie Commission "was laboriously whipping into shape." It also fused the concept of Public TV, he wrote, with the notion of a communications satellite.

The Carnegie design rested, White maintained, on the base of the local PTV station, local talent, local production, and local control. The Ford Foundation, on the other hand, White argued, proposed a primarily journalistic network and centralized production operation the programs of which local stations would transmit. White claimed that the Carnegie Commission's recommendations were better for the nation than those of the Ford Foundation which were eventually scrapped.

(56) Clay T. Whitehead, "Local Autonomy and the Fourth Network: Striking a Balance," Educational Broadcasting Review, V (December, 1971), pp. 3-6.

This high-level appointee of the Richard Nixon administration confronted public broadcasters in convention to accuse them of failing to fulfill the Carnegie Commission promise of creating a locally based, pluralistic PTV institution. He suggested that broadcasters let the commission outline its philosophy while they maintained their commitment to mass audiences, networking, and other values he thought were better associated with commerce than with education. He argued for more PTV time devoted to instructional programming for in-school and in-home audiences. Lurking in the background of Whitehead's philosophical rhetoric, however, was the fact that some national public affairs programming on the PTV network had offended the President by questioning his policies.

(57) James Zigerell, "Comments," Mass Media/Adult Education, (December, 1968), p. 6.

Among several swipes at public broadcasters, adult educator Zigerell spoke out against the suggestion of National Educational Television President John White that Instructional TV be moved off the public airwaves and carried, instead, by closed-circuit. PTV broadcasters, Zigerell wrote, should provide "mental nutriment" rather than the "frenetic" performance and public affairs programming it seemed to him they tended to prefer.

(58) James Zigerell, "Television and Adult Education: Another Lost Cause?" Educational/Instructional Broadcasting, II (October, 1969), pp. 12-14.

The dean of Chicago City College's TV College questioned Henry Alter's analysis of PTV as a distinct method. Zigerell championed the other side of the issue, calling for more effort at combining the TV medium with traditional adult education methodology. He attacked educational broadcasters who recommended that TV instruction be relegated to closed-circuit and other sub-broadcast operations.

Part II: The Reality

(59) Earl B. Abrams, "Two Candles But Not Much Cake," Broadcasting, LXXVII (October 27, 1969), pp. 60-64.

This report, nearly two years after passage of the Public Broadcasting Act, described the disarray over PTV in government and among noncommercial broadcasters. Government funding had not yet come anywhere near the expectations of the broadcasters. Station managers wanted the money for running their own stations rather than for strengthening the overall PTV programming situation. Those persons within educational TV who held to narrow definitions of education were concerned about the willingness of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting to accept broader definitions. They wanted PTV used for education, "not for social causes or culture." CPB President John W. Macy, Jr., was pictured as effectively going about his job to bring order out of this chaos despite the many obstacles in his way.

(60) Wayne W. Alford, NAEB History, Volume 2, 1954-1965, Washington, D.C.: National Association of Educational Broadcasters, 1966.

Alford chronicled the activities of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters as they related to educational television. His study was highly complimentary toward the organization, omitting virtually all of the deadening influences it exerted over the years on the dynamic development of Public TV programming and networking.

(61) George E. Bair, "Letters to the Editor," Educational Broadcasting Review V (February, 1970), pp. 31-33.

The University of North Carolina's director of educational television reacted negatively to calls for National Educational Television to provide more reality in its programming, to offer lighter and more attractive programming, and to develop more PTV personalities. So negative was Bair toward NET that he managed to attribute to NET the demands heaped upon it by critic Marya Mannes, demands noted elsewhere in this review of the literature. NET was being attacked by social critics for too much irrelevant programming and then attacked again by a station manager for fear that it would program more forthrightly in response to that criticism.

(62) Stanley J. Baran, "The Administration: Public Television's New Threat," Educational Broadcasting Review, VI (October, 1972), pp. 320 and 321.

The Nixon administration attack on PTV and PTV's pusillanimous response were briefly described. Baran noted that a number of programs were cancelled or cut back as a result of the attack. The Public Broadcasting Service was authorized by stations to cancel programming that appeared dangerous. "Such

concessions to partisan pressures," Baran wrote, "cannot and should not be allowed by the public television community."

Baran quite rightly judged that it was highly unlikely that PTV could ever achieve its promise as a public medium as long as it allowed "itself to cower before Administration pressure." Even these "cowering" actions proved insufficient for the politicians, however. Efforts were soon undertaken to punish PBS for allowing any controversial programming to go over the network.

(63) Robert O. Blanchard, "Station Managers Versus NET Producer: Conflict over Subjectivity," Educational Broadcasting Review, IV (June, 1970), pp. 3-6.

This was a balanced analysis of the controversy over the PTV program, "Who Invited US?" In the context of broadcast journalism theory, it carefully traced the development of the crisis that led to the cancellation of the program by the Washington, D.C., station. Ultimately, the assessment seemed to come down in favor of the program producer and to accuse the Washington station manager of over-reaction.

(64) Robert O. Blanchard and R.F. Schenkkan, "Letters to the Editor," Educational Broadcasting Review, IV (October, 1970), pp. 15 and 16.

This exchange between PTV station manager Robert Schenkkan and American University Department of Communication Chairman Robert Blanchard showed clearly the tendency of the station manager to defend Establishment positions in the name of "balance." Blanchard, on the other hand, argued for "presenting as wide a spectrum of opinion" as the station leadership "has the guts" to present. "And I can think of no greater suppresser of creativity and freedom of expression," Blanchard wrote, "than that wet noodle called 'balance'." Blanchard argued that balance in overall programming was necessary, but not in each and every program.

(65) Frederick Breitenfeld, Jr., "An Open Plea to Al Capp," Educational Broadcasting Review, IV (December, 1970), pp. 13-15.

The executive director of the Maryland Center for Public Broadcasting sarcastically questioned Al Capp's attacks on PTV in this open letter to the right-leaning cartoonist and commentator. Breitenfeld showed that Capp's comments on PTV were inaccurate, full of stereotypes, and based on a foolish conspiracy syndrome.

(66) Les Brown, "The Public Service," Chapter 14 of Television: The Business Behind the Box, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971, pp. 314-346.

This TV critic and analyst roasted Public Television for seeking to reach, not a mass audience, but middle-class Estab-

lishment professionals. He charged NET's successor, the Public Broadcasting Service, with being "more interested in prestige and in the sources of its operating monies than in the attentions of the lower class."

Brown, urging a strong broadcasting-oriented national PTV network, blamed the power vested in the local stations for PTV's tendency to emphasize safe, orthodox programming. He quoted a veteran staff member of Chicago's Public TV station: "We are not here to offend the powers that be. Our goal is harmony."

The Carnegie Commission erred, Brown noted, in recommending education-oriented local control of programming rather than broadcasting-oriented network control of programming. The weakness of the commission recommendation lay in the weakness of the local stations. "...The trick to running most public TV stations successfully," Brown wrote, "is not to serve the public in the fullest but to serve the local board of directors, and in a majority of situations that is accomplished through an avoidance of controversy. And in times of strong ideological divisions in the country, it means muting the critics of the established order."

(67) John E. Burke, "The Public Broadcasting Act of 1967," Educational Broadcasting Review, VI (April, June, and August, 1972), pp. 105-119, 178-192, and 251-266.

This three-installment presentation from the author's Ph.D. dissertation described the process whereby governmental financial assistance to educational broadcasting was conceived and effected. While Burke's articles provided an excellent blow-by-blow account of efforts to achieve passage of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, he was dependent for his data largely upon interviews with the people who conducted those efforts. The difficulty for Burke, as for his readers, is to judge just how much to accept the views of at least some of his respondents. The roles of President Lyndon Johnson and of C. Scott Fletcher, for example, are likely a bit out of proportion to the reality.

The main weakness of the writing is the sycophantic approach that offered little of critical analysis. These were all great men doing the right thing. Only in regard to the acquiescence of educational broadcasters to the government requirement against editorializing did Burke engage in serious questioning. He was clearly a "court historian," totally committed to the bill whose history he was recording.

(68) Al Capp, "And Now a Word from Dogpatch," Educational Broadcasting Review, IV (December, 1970), pp. 10-12.

This darling of the right-wing attacked educational television during several of his radio shows, and EBR printed these excerpts joined together in the form of an article. Capp's primary concern seemed to be his suspicion, or rather certainty, that PTV was controlled by the radical left.

(69) Robert Andrew Carlson, "The Creation and Development of Educational Television as an Institution of Adult Education: A Case Study in American History," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, 1968. (Available from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, as Order No. 68-7092.)

This historical study analyzed the national development of educational television within the context of American political, social, economic, and intellectual life of the 1950s and 1960s. The efforts of ETV activists such as Frieda Hennock, C. Scott Fletcher, and John White to gain sufficient high-level support for ETV were examined. Primary documents as well as personal interviews with many individuals who played crucial roles in bringing ETV into being supplied the data. The study showed that at the national level educational television over the years has been largely an institution of informal adult education because of early backing by the Fund for Adult Education. It remained that way despite efforts to make it a part of formal elementary, secondary, and higher education by the professional educational establishment and by the Fund for the Advancement of Education. The most influential support for the ETV institution, it was noted, has come from the Senate Committee on Commerce and from the Ford Foundation.

(70) Lark Daniel, "ETV: The Future Is Now," Educational Broadcasting Review, III (August, 1969), pp. 7-10.

The executive director of the Southern Educational Communications Association argued against a proposal to vest PTV production largely in the hands of eight of the best stations in the country. "Since its inception," Daniel wrote, "educational broadcasting has been essentially dominated by the large metropolitan centers." Now that public money was provided in support of PTV, Daniel claimed that the local stations in all parts of the country, his South included, were the agencies that should get the funds to produce local and national programs.

(71) James Day, "The Social Responsibility of Public Broadcasting," Educational Broadcasting Review, III (1969 Convention Report), pp. 11-14.

The then president of National Educational Television expressed dismay that some of his educational TV colleagues not only refused to carry controversial national programs on their local stations but even sought to restrain the creation and distribution of such PTV programs by others.

(72) Bobbie Gene Ellis, "An Investigation of the Ford Foundation's Role in the Early-Stage Development of Educational Television in the United States," Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Houston, Houston, Texas, 1958.

This study provided a good source of background on the Ford Foundation's early activities in educational television,

both in Public TV and in Instructional TV. Ellis noted the change in emphasis in favor of ITV that took place in the Foundation's priorities in the mid-1950s and continued into the early 1960s. It was a policy that threatened Public TV with an early demise.

(73) Walter B. Emery, "Is There a Constitutional Flaw in the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967?" Educational Broadcasting Review, II (February, 1968), pp. 17-21.

Communications professor Walter Emery reviewed the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 and noted five substantive differences between the relatively open version passed by the Senate and the more restrictive bill passed by the House. Three of these differences appeared to him to have been crucially important. Two of these three were resolved more or less in favor of the Senate. Conference committee members deleted House wording that rejected support of programs involving amusement or entertainment. They also seemed to agree that House language requiring objectivity and balance in controversial programs would relate only to a station's overall performance, not to each and every program funded with public money. A third compromise, one made in favor of the House, caused Emery much concern. Public broadcasters were enjoined from editorializing. Emery believed this language was in contravention of First Amendment guarantees of free speech.

(74) Roland E. Fenz, "Where the $$$ Come From," Educational Television, VIII (March, 1971), pp. 23-27.

The CPB's director of station development argued that the differences among the PTV station types (community, public school, university, and state networks) had retarded the development of the medium because each possessed a separate and different economic base. This situation, according to Fenz, was changing.

Late in the 1960s and early in the 1970s, he wrote, the tax-supported elements among these different stations began to broaden their financial base by seeking private funds. At the same time, public funds became available in increasing quantity to the entire PTV industry, community-supported educational stations included, with passage of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. Community stations thus began to accept public funds at the same time as tax-supported stations expanded their fund-raising to include private sources. Because of this growing similarity in their funding sources, Fenz argued, stations were becoming more similar in the types of programming they were doing. Instructional programs were showing up increasingly on the previously privately-financed PTV stations, he thought, and more public affairs and cultural programs were appearing on tax-supported stations.

With growing similarities, Fenz wrote, there was an increasing unification of interests and actions by stations in behalf of PTV. Whether Fenz read the existing situation

correctly or not, he clearly hoped fervently for both increasing commonality of PTV's financial base and of its programming service to the public. This economics-oriented view predicted a more uniform PTV industry at the very time when "diversity" was becoming all the rage in the rhetoric of the field and "commonality" was being attacked as "Eastern liberal Establishmentarianism."

(75) The Ford Foundation, Annual Reports, New York: The Ford Foundation, 1953 through 1973.

This crucial support organization for educational television devoted various lengths of space over the years to reporting its work in ETV as part of its extensive annual accountings to the American public. A reading of these statements in the context of the full reports during these years could provide interesting leads for those interested in tracing Ford Foundation policy twists.

(76) The Fund for Adult Education, A Ten Year Report of the Fund for Adult Education, 1951-1961, White Plains, New York: The Fund for Adult Education, 1962.

This report of its decade of activities in adult education included a chronicle by the FAE of its work to create a viable educational television institution in the United States. Naturally enough, the report exuded satisfaction and optimism for the FAE's creation.

(77) Richard B. Hull, "The History Behind ETV," The NAEB Journal, XVII (February, 1958), pp. 3-6 ff.

This pioneer educational broadcaster told his version of the story behind the successful reservation of TV channels for education. Educational radio broadcasting and a few crucial members of that small fraternity of educational broadcasters loomed large in Hull's view of how Public Television's future was ensured.

(78) James E. Lynch and Richard Stromgren, "Breaking Down a False Dichotomy: Feature Films and Public Television," Educational Broadcasting Review, IV (October, 1970), pp. 31-40.

The very existence of this article exemplifies the inimical influences of the narrow definition of education, influences against which this article argued. The authors felt a need for Public Television "to break down the false dichotomy which relegates all feature films to the province of the entertainment world and the commercial station." They effectively made their case that there are and continue to be a considerable number of films combining intellectual stimulation with entertainment which should be broadcast by PTV stations.

(79) Harold Mendelsohn and Melvyn M. Muchnik, "Public Television and Political Broadcasting: A Matter of Responsibility,"

Educational Broadcasting Review, IV (December, 1970), pp. 3-9.

This article was based on a mailed questionnaire survey of PTV stations to gauge their efforts "to educate the electorate" during the 1968 election campaign period. The minimal amounts of time provided by PTV for this purpose and the explanations of the situation by station managers shocked the researchers. They concluded, "In simple terms a significant number of PTV stations in the United States are plain frightened about getting themselves involved in such 'controversial' matters as political elections....Until public television can free itself from the wall-hugging, don't-rock-the-boat; take-it-easy orientation to politics that apparently encumbers significant numbers of stations currently, it is difficult to see how PTV can possibly be considered as anything more than a puny tragic joke on the nation's political enlightenment scene."

(80) Richard J. Meyer, "Eulogy for PBL," Educational Broadcasting Review, III (August, 1969), pp. 63-66.

The background of the Ford Foundation's bold Public Broadcast Laboratory came out clearly in this article. It also noted the positive impact PBL had on the development of PTV as well as the internecine warfare its relatively high budget and self-confident administrators brought upon the series from many "less fortunate" local stations.

(81) Steve Millard, "The Story of Public Broadcasting," Broadcasting, LXXXI (November 8, 1971), pp. 30-36.

This report reflected the thinking in 1971 of the more "reasonable" among the PTV national leadership group. While it took account of the vast array of problems and disputes related to Public Television, its view was essentially optimistic. PTV was surviving and expected eventually to receive insulated funding. The only real danger was on the horizon in the form of the Nixon administration's call for emphasizing localism in Public Television. The potentiality for evil in this concept, if used to prevent important nationally-produced programming, was pointed out. It was de-emphasized, however, probably in the hope that the Nixon administration would allow the "reasonable" elements of PTV leadership to overcome on its own the factors bothering those around the nation's incumbent President.

(82) Edward P. Morgan, "Hail and Farewell to PBL: A Post-mortem on a Two-Year Experiment," Educational Broadcasting Review, III (August, 1969), pp. 62 and 63.

The anchor-man of this experiment in public affairs adult education reviewed the philosophy behind it, some of its strengths, and some of its weaknesses.

(83) The Network Project, "Chronology 2: Public Television," OTP, New York: The Network Project, 1973, pp. 17-20. (Total report

is available for $2 from the Network Project, 104 Earl Hall, Columbia University, New York, New York 10027.)

This chapter chronicled the harassment program conducted against PTV by the Nixon administration which threatened to end in the emasculation of PTV as a meaningful form of adult education.

(84) The Network Project, The Fourth Network, New York: The Network Project, 1971. (The organization's address is 104 Earl Hall, Columbia University, New York, New York 10027.)

This analysis of the development of educational television suggested a conspiratorial, step-by-step plan by the Ford Foundation to inflict its values upon the American people through its support and creation of various elements in the ETV structure. As the Ford networking operation was about to disintegrate in 1969, according to this interpretation, the Foundation allowed the network to be switched over to the control of the federal government, a ploy by which the economic Establishment maintained its hold upon the thinking to be disseminated by the medium.

Such an analysis is open to serious question in light of the obvious inconsistencies in Foundation policy toward educational TV over the years. There were other signs of a lack of perspective on the part of the writer. For the study to speak of National Educational Television as having provided no effective programming until the coming of Fred Friendly to the Ford Foundation is silly. To claim that NET "was beginning to fall apart" as the result of local station manager discontent is naive and preposterous. Managers were always "openly voicing their discontent." Their words in 1969 were about the same as they had been from 1959 onwards.

The Foundation, if the Network Project is to be believed, could do no right. While it attacked Ford for directing support to the national ETV network rather than to local stations, the study then castigated the Foundation for changing the policy. Funneling funds directly to local stations, the publication claimed, "conceals the dominant role in funding that Ford still has."

Despite these "howlers," the Network Project argued a basically sound thesis, one that questioned the level of freedom Public Television possessed to meet public needs. Whether it is the Ford Foundation or the Corporation for Public Broadcasting which funds the PTV medium, the boards of directors of these organizations are recruited from the ruling Establishment. It is reasonable indeed for the Network Project to ask if such persons can truly serve the interests of all the people.

(85) Burton Paulu, "Public Broadcasting in America Enters the 1970s," European Broadcasting Union Review, CXX-B (March, 1970), pp. 33-38.

This article by a pioneer educational radio station operator gave a brief background of Public Broadcasting in the U.S. and both described and differentiated the roles of the many different organizations in the field.

(86) John Walker Powell, Channels of Learning, Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1962.

Powell briefly told the story of educational television up to 1961, emphasizing the role of the Fund for Adult Education--the organization that commissioned the document. Powell referred to himself as a chronicler and, indeed, some of his writing recalls glimpses of the court chronicler of yore, quivering in excitement and emotion over the derring-do of his masters. He went off the deep end altogether in stating that by 1961 programs on ETV stations provided "almost everywhere in my experience with it--a television resource superior at most times of most days to anything offered on the entertainment stations."

On discounting such puffery by this free-lance chronicler one finds a helpful source of background on Fund for Adult Education activities in ETV. This is true despite his quotation without attribution and the overall non-academic treatment of his subject.

(87) Fred Powledge, Public Television: A Question of Survival, Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1972.

This American Civil Liberties Union booklet reported the Nixon administration's attempt to destroy PTV as a national force capable of furthering a critical understanding of public affairs. The author was convinced, however, that the disappearance of PTV "as a relevant force in American society" could be prevented. He trusted the "people" of the United States to change the situation if Congress and Public TV itself would only inform the public of the impending "disaster."

(88) Wilbur Schramm, et al., The People Look at Educational Television, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1963.

Results of an audience study of eight different ETV stations by a Stanford University group in 1962 were combined with results of an MIT study done late in 1959 and early in 1960 of the Boston educational station's audience. Analysis suggested that educational television had a small but increasing viewership. One of the primary characteristics of that audience was its higher than average educational level. It seemed in 1962, at least, that those who wished PTV to reach an elite were having their way and that those wishing this medium to serve people with little formal education were failing to achieve their ends.

(89) Henry J. Siegle, "A Look at the ETV Audience," Educational Broadcasting Review, III (October, 1969), pp. 23-29.

This article presented the national findings of a 1969 survey of television viewership. Consistent with earlier studies of the educational TV audience, it reported that "ETV households appear to be a good deal wealthier than average, better educated, better informed and more involved in community and professional organizations."

(90) John F. White, "Retiring NET President Reviews Decade of Growth," Educational Broadcasting Review, III (June, 1969), pp. 14-19.

The farewell speech to PTV stations by retiring NET President White outlined his view of the situation in PTV at that time and the developments over the years which led to that point. He revealed his organization's expectation that it would continue to be the major program production source for the movement, an expectation in which NET soon experienced massive frustration.

(91) Donald Neal Wood, "The First Decade of the 'Fourth Network': An Historical, Descriptive Analysis of the National Educational Television and Radio Center," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1963. (Available from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, as Order No. 64-6764.)

Wood described the development of NET from 1952 to 1962, contrasting the earlier "educational" orientation under Harry Newburn with the "broadcasting" orientation under John White, who assumed direction of the organization in 1959. Wood, who had worked for NET under White, was a strong supporter of the latter's expansion policy for the organization and of White's vision of NET as a "Fourth Network."

(92) Donald N. Wood, "The First Fifteen Years of the 'Fourth Network'," Journal of Broadcasting, XIII (Spring, 1969), pp. 131-144.

The author briefed down his Ph.D. study of National Educational Television and updated it to 1967. While weakened appreciably by the cutting, the study will be helpful to anyone desiring a quick, close-up sketch of the development of the organization to that time. It failed, however, to provide a context in which the organization operated. Thus Wood was reduced to explaining NET policies largely in terms of such stereotypes of different NET leaders as "conservative" and "progressive."

(93) Anthony W. Zaitz, "The History of Educational Television--1932-1958," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, 1960. (Available from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan as Order No. 60-2475.)

This rather pedestrian thesis traced the development of educational television to 1958 through a survey of the literature, interviews, and correspondence with persons involved

in its establishment. It gave little feeling, however, for the rough-and-tumble political and philosophical struggle in the field reaching one of its peak periods at the very time Zaitz was writing.

Even if there is no agreement on anything else about ETV, clearly one must accept that the story of the development of educational television has all the ingredients of excitement, conflict, and mystery. Zaitz somehow managed to leave out these ingredients and, naturally, his thesis fell flat.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Other recent Occasional Papers of Syracuse University Publications in Continuing Education:

38. EVALUATING THE ATTAINMENT OF OBJECTIVES IN ADULT EDUCATION: PROCESS, PROPERTIES, PROBLEMS, PROSPECTS, by Sara M. Steele and Robert E. Brack. 1973. $2.25, with ERIC/AE.
37. ADULT EDUCATION IN CHURCH AND SYNAGOGUE: A REVIEW OF SELECTED RECENT LITERATURE, by Huey B. Long. 1973. $2.50, with ERIC/AE.
36. TOWARD A WORKING PHILOSOPHY OF ADULT EDUCATION, by Jerold W. Apps. May, 1973. $3.00, with ERIC/AE.
35. CONCEPTUAL LEARNING: FROM MOLLUSKS TO ADULT EDUCATION, by Robert A. Carlson. March, 1973. $1.75, with ERIC/AE.
34. CONSUMER EDUCATION PROGRAMMING IN CONTINUING EDUCATION, by Margaret Charters. January, 1973. $1.75, with ERIC/AE.
33. THE CHALLENGE OF MODERN CHURCH-PUBLIC RELATIONS, ed. by Michael V. Reagen and Doris S. Chertow. December, 1972. $3.00.
32. PAULO FREIRE: A REVOLUTIONARY DILEMMA FOR THE ADULT EDUCATOR, ed. by Stanley M. Grabowski. November, 1972. $4.00.
31. HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL INFLUENCES UPON THE DEVELOPMENT OF RESIDENTIAL CENTERS FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION, by Frank W. Jessup. October, 1972. $1.50.
30. TOWARD GOG AND MAGOG OR?: A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE OF ADULT GROUP DISCUSSION, by F.W.W. Osinski, et al. September, 1972. $3.00, with ERIC/AE.
29. AGENDA FOR COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN ADULT EDUCATION: REPORT FROM THE INTERNATIONAL EXPERTS MEETING, 1972. June, 1972. $2.00.
28. RESPONSE TO NEED: A CASE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION GRADUATE PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTHEAST, by Charles E. Kozoll. April, 1972. $2.25.
27. THE HILL AND THE VALLEY: THE STORY OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE AT SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY THROUGH 1964, by A.N. Charters. February, 1972. $2.25.
26. REAL ESTATE TAX EXEMPTION FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION PROGRAMS, by A.N. Charters. February, 1972. $.75.
25. THE LEARNING FORCE: A MORE COMPREHENSIVE FRAMEWORK FOR EDUCATIONAL POLICY, by Stanley Moses. 1971. $1.25.
24. LIFELONG LEARNING OR LIFELONG SCHOOLING?: A TENTATIVE VIEW OF THE IDEAS OF IVAN ILLICH WITH A QUOTATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY, by John Ohliger and Coleen McCarthy. 1971. $2.25, with ERIC/AE.
23. THE NEW ENVIRONMENT: QUESTIONS FOR ADULT EDUCATORS, by Robert J. Blakely. 1971. $1.00.
22. ADULT EDUCATION AND THE DISADVANTAGED ADULT, by John Niemi and Darrell Anderson. 1970. $2.00, with ERIC/AE.
21. COMMUNITY SERVICE AND CONTINUING EDUCATION: A LITERATURE REVIEW, by James B. Whipple. 1970. $1.50, with ERIC/AE.

Landmark Series: THE COOPERATIVE EXTENSION SERVICE: PARADOXICAL SERVANT, by Paul A. Miller. 1973. $1.50.

ORDER FROM:
Publications in Continuing Education, Syracuse University, 224 Huntington Hall, Syracuse, N. Y. 13210.